A SECOND

DEFENCE

OFTHE

Church of England

From the Charge of

SCHISM and HERESY,

As laid against it by the VINDICATOR of the DEPRIVED BISHOPS.

In Answer to Two Discourses, entitul'd,

A Defence of the Vindication of the Deprived Bishops,

AND,

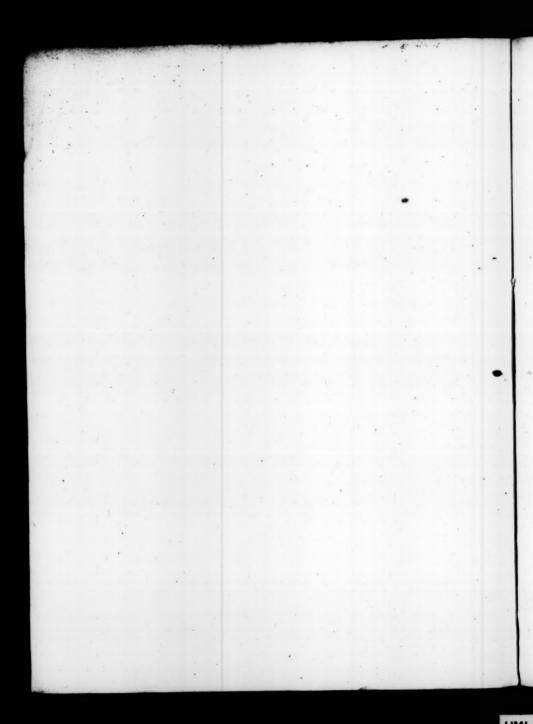
The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the Lay-Power.

Ed Welshman

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UMI



The Preface.

HE Vindicator of the deprived Bishops ha-Herefie for accepting of other Bishops in the room of those lately depriv'd; Dr. Hody undertook to clear it of that Imputation, by proving from the Practice of the Catholick Church, the Lawfulness of acknowledging the Bishops in Possession even upon the Supposition of the Invalidity of the others Deprivation; and another Author undertook the Defence of the Church, by proving the Deprivation Valid. These two Discourses drew from the Vindicator a Defence of his Vindication, which having been for some time suppress'd by the Government, at last stole abroad, and hath been reflected on, so far as the Doctor is concern'd in it, by one who is pleased to stile himself the Doctor's Second. Had the Same Worthy Person vouchsafed to have seconded the other Author too, whom the Vindicator hath thought fit to bestow as great a part of his Book upon, as upon the Doctor, he had happily anticipated the Attempts of a weaker Pen; but fince he hath left the Defence of the Church to shift for it self, the Author of it is forced to accept of a meaner Second.

Let

ET the READER observe, that where Reference is made to Sections only without any farther Direction, He is there refer'd to the Defence of the Vindication.

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A Second DEFENCE of the Church of England from the Charge of SCHISM and HERESY, &c.



HAT Opinion the Vindicator of the deprived Bishops hath of the Abilities of either Dr. Hody, or the Author of the Defence of the Church of England, He himself best knows; it seems he thought neither of them contemptible, when he bestow'd so much pains in answering, I should have said endeavouring to answer, the least and meanest of them. I

wish he had as good an Opinion of their Sincerity and Honesty: This I perceive He very much questions; altho' he hath been acquainted with the Doctor long enough to have conceived better of him; and as for the Author of the Defence, I can affure him that all the Temporal Interests he hath, or ever bopeth to have, in the Church, are so mean, that He is as free even from all Temptation to partiality in this Matter as the Vindicator himself. However, it is no wonder They should undergo the same Cenfure with the whole Church, which the Vindicator vilifies as if it had regarded nothing in all this transaction, but Worldly Considerations and Carnal Interests. I must confess indeed that He hath at the same time taken care to justify it, by producing such Arguments against it as do abundantly discover the Unreasonableness of his Acculation; and I am very confident that the Church needs no other Apology to the Vindicator himself than his own impartial Examination of the two Books He himself hath wrote against her. But because this is not to be expected from him, labouring under fo great prejudices as he doth, without some Affistance; I shall lend him all the help I can, and discover to him, if possible, the Inconclusiveness of his Arguments, so far at least as the Author of the Defence of the Church, &c. is engaged in this Cause. And in order thereto, I shall enquire,

- I. Whether the Church, in allowing the Validity of the late Deprivation, hath departed from her Ancient Principles? And,
- II. Whether such an Allowance be subject to those Inconveniences wherewith the Vindicator chargeth it?

The first of these Enquiries will discover to us whether the Church have directed her Practice as to the Matter in dispute by Maxims of Religion or worldly Policy. The second will give us occasion to examine the Reasonings of the Vindicator, and the Exceptions he hath made to the Defence of the Church.

I. Whether the Church, in allowing the Validity of the late Deprivation, hath departed from her Ancient Principles? And here we must look no farther back than to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. For the Vindicator hath already * excepted against the Reigns of Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth; and that in such a manner, that the whole World may see He regards no Interest, how Sacred soever, when it stands in Competition with that of his Cause. To begin therefore with Queen Elizabeth's Reign, the Times of a Supremacy, even by his own confession, tolerable. And what opinion the Church then had of a Lay-deprivation, may hence appear, viz. That that Princess. deprived most of the Bishops by her own Authority, and the Church accepted of new ones in their stead. I know the Vindicator is ready to answer me, That this Deprivation was of Temporals only; for the Popish Bishops were not own'd for Bishops by the Protestants, even before the Deprivation; and therefore the Protestants owing them no Duty in Conscience, their Sees were already, before the Deprivation, vacant in Conscience; and consequently the Queen could not deprive them of that Authority in Spirituals which they were not possess d of. And will the Vindicator stand by this Answer? Yes. certainly; for it is his own. Let me then ask him, Were the Protestants ever subject to the Popish Bishops with regard to Conscience? He confesseth they were before they turn'd Prote-

Cants.

The Dotrine of the Church of England concerning the Independency of the Clergy on the Laypower, &c. Sect. VII.

† 16. Sect.

16.

stants. Did their turning Protestants exempt them from that Subjection they ow'd before? If he faith it did I defire him to shew me, how Freedom from Subjection to our Superiors comes to be a part of the Prorestant Religion. Again, "Hi the Popish Bi- " Note, That I shops were not Bishops of the Protestants, before the Deprivation, frame this Arwith regard to Conscience; The Protestants had no Bishops; if gument upon no Bishops, no Altars; if no Altars, no Sacraments; if no Sacraments, no Religion. Let him deny this Reasoning if he think fit. Farther yet, If the Popish Bishops had no Spiritual Authority over the Protestants within their Districts, before the Deprivation; they I her sent must have lost it either by some Ast of their own, or by some Act of the Protestants. They lost it not by any Act of their own, for they never renounced it. They must have lost it then by some Act of the Protestants; that is, by the Protestants disowning it. Let him grant me this, and there's an End of all Difputes concerning the Validity of a Lay-deprivation. But after all, the Truth of the Matter is this: The Popish Bishops were Bishops, even of the Protestants, to all intents and purposes, till the Queen had deprived them; and the Validity of her Deprivation depended upon that Right which she, as Supreme Magistrate, was invested with to make Laws, to impose Oaths, for the securing her Government, and to inflict the punishment prescribed by those Laws on the Disobedient. Thus † Dr. Hammond accounts for † Of Schism, co it; and let any Man judge whether this Account be not more reasonable than that of the Vindicator.

The Validity therefore of a Regal Deprivation of Bishops was fufficiently own'd by the Church in Queen Elizabeth's Reign. Let us descend to King James the First's. And here we have the second Canon of the Year 1603, attributing to our Kings the very same Authority in Causes Ecclesiaftical, that the Godly Kings had among the Fews, and Christian Emperours in the Primitive Church. But the Vindicator replies, That this Authority did never extend to the Deprivation of Priests and Bishops: How so? why, because the 37th Article mentions no such thing: But doth that Article deny it? No; but, on the contrary, afferts that it always was the Prerogative of Godly Princes to Rule all Estates and Degrees, whether Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil-doers. + Now to rule all Estates, and to restrain with the Civil Sword, are very comprehensive words, and may imply an Authority to deprive

the Vindicator's own Hypothetis.

C.VII Sect. 17.

Bishops,

Bishops, and were, no doubt, understood so to do, when the Article was framed in the Reign of a Princes, who had so notoriously exercised such an Authority. But what an Argument is here? The Article doth not mention any Authority to deprive Bishops, therefore the Canon doth not mean it; no, tho' its Expressions be never so full and comprehensive of it. Well, but what Opinion had the Divines of those Times of the Power of the Fewish Kings, and consequently of our own, in this matter? "That Ecclesiastical Persons are subject to Temporal Governors, " and are to be judged by their Laws, the Scriptures speak plain-" ly. Let every Soul be Subject to the higher powers, Rom. 13. " Ergo, Bishops, yea the Pope himself. Solomon removed Abia-" thar, and put in Sadoc. Thus Dr. Willet. Synopsis Papismi. Controv. 7. Quest. 1. Did I live among Books, I might overwhelm the Vindicator with Authorities that are express to the fame purpose. But what need is there of a multitude, when that one mention'd in the Title-page of the Defence of the Church. might be sufficient to conclude any reasonable Man? I mean that of the great Bishop Andrews, who enumerating the particular Rights of the King's Supremacy, expressly mentions the Power of Deprivation, about which we are contending. Abiathar ipsum, fi ita meruit, Pontificatu abdicandi. This excellent Person was capable certainly of understanding the sense and import of the two first Canons, especially when He himself sate in the Convocation, and might have a very great hand in compiling the whole Book.

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To come lower yet, i. e. to the Reign of King Charles the First. And here Mr. Thorndike, a Man that well understood, and zealously afferted the Rights of the Church, will tell him, that, "No Man, by being of the Clergy, can be privileged against the Secular Power, or against those Laws which are the Acts of it; and that the Example of Abiathar, High Priest, removed from his Office by Solomon, is an effectual Argument to this purpose. [Rights of the Church, p. 266.] And again, If those whom the Power of the Church is trusted with, shall hinder the restoring of such Laws, viz. Laws of the Gospel, the Secular Power may and ought, by way of penalty to such persons, to suppress their Power, that so it may be committed to such as are willing to submit to the superior Ordinance of our Lord and his Aposses. Ib. pag. 274, 278.

" Besides

" Besides the manifold Reasons and Authors that might be al-" ledg'd herein, viz. the Magistrate's Power over the Clergy, " we have abundance of Examples that do confirm this Truth, " as Solomon deposing Abiathar, &c. [Dr. Williams, The True Church, Lib. 6. Cap. 1.] The Vindicator cannot be ignorant of these, and many more such Authorities as these, which might be produced to the same purpose; The Authority of Bishop Andrews especially, which being placed in the very Title-page of the Defence of the Church, &c. could not possibly escape his Observation. But what faith he to them? Why, he acknowledges indeed that * there have been those who from the Case of Doctrine of Abiathar bave inferred the deprivableness of the Episcopal Power by the Church, the Lay-Magistrate; but yet there is no reason to believe that ever our XXV. Church intended to exclude all such from her Communion, who could not come up to the heights of these private Opinators. I believe indeed that the Church intended to exclude as few as possible from her Communion; but had our Vindicator been alive, and publish'd his private Opinions, which he calls the Doctrine of the Church. concerning the King's Supremacy, at the same time She publish'd her Canons, I am apt to think he would have hardly escaped her Censur e. But to let that pass; We have here another tast of his Respect to the Doctors and Fathers of our Church; which we may perceive is not confined to the Times of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, when Bishop Andrews, to mention no other, that great Light of the Christian World, is set aside by him with the Character of an high-flown private Opinator. He spares no body I see; however, I will give him an Authority or two more, and let him Characterize them too if he pleases. What thinks he then of King Charles the First, who by his own Authority Sufpended Archbishop Abbot? Why, He replies, that † Princes do many things upon Exigencies of State, which even + Doctrine of themselves do not approve: Very modestly said. But I always the Church, took King Charles the First for a very good Man, and one that or. Seek. acted upon Principles; and besides, He was under no such preffing Exigencies as to that Sufpension, but he might have very fafely forborn it, had it been any force upon his Conscience. thinks he farther of the five Bilhops, who, in accepting the King's Commission to execute Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction during the Sufpension, openly profess'd the Validity of it? Did not thefe act upon Principles neither? One of them I am fure did, and

He too, no Betrayer of the Rights of the Church, I mean Bishop

Land, that Cyprianus Anglicus, a Name dear to our Vindicator. if any be, who thus declared his Sentiments, as to the matter in hand, in the Face of the whole World. " Lastly, The pinch of " this Charge is, That I faid, I received my Jurisdiction from "God and from Christ, contrary to an Act of Parliament which " fays, Bishops derive their Jurisdiction from the King. That Statute speaks plainly of Jurisdiction in Foro contentioso, and places of Judicature, and no other. And all this foringecal Jurifdiction, I and all Bishops in England derive from the Crown. "Hut my Order, my Calling, my Jurisdiction in Foro Conscientiæ, that is from God, and from Christ, and by Divine and " Apostolical Right. And of this Jurisdiction I then spake (if I " named Jurisdiction at all, and not my Calling in general), " for I then fate in the High-commission, and did exercise the " the former Jurisdiction under the Broad Seal, and could not " be so simple to deny the Power by which I then sate. Be-" fides, the Canons of the Church of England, to which I have " fuscribed, are plain for it. Thus far the Vindicator is pleased; but let him observe what follows. " Nay farther: The U/e " and Exercise of my Jurisdiction in Foro Conscientia, may not " be but by the Leave and Power of the King within his Domi-" nions. A. B. Laud's Hiftory of his Troubles, pag. 209.

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I shall produce but one Authority more, which brings the Do-Etrine of the Church down yet nearer to our Times, and I have done, and that shall be of Archbishop Bramhall, who in his Answer to Mr. De la Militiere, thus expresses himself: "This "Power the Christian Emperors of old assumed unto themselves, to convocate Synods, to preside in Synods, to consirm Synods, to establish Ecclesiastical Laws, to receive Appeals, to nominate Bishops, to ejest Bishops, to suppress Heresies, to compose Ecclesiastical differences, in Councils, out of Councils, by themselves, by their Delegates: All which is as clear in the History of the Church, as if it were written with a Beam of the Sun. This Power the Ancient Kings of England ever exercised, not only before the Reformation, but before the Norman Con-

And now if the Independency of the Clergy on the Secular Power, as the Vindicator hath stated it, that is, so as to invalidate all Regal Deprivations of Bishops, be indeed the Destrine of the Church

of

of England; what unpardonable Ignorance was it in fuch Men as Laud, and Bramball, and Andrews, &c. that they should know nothing of it? and how infinitely is this, hitherto poor deluded Church, obliged to the Vindicator for making the Discovery, and undeceiving her? What a Prodigy is here? that the Independency of the Clergy should be a Dostrine, nay even a Fundamental Do-Etrine of the Church for fo many Ages together, and She all the while know nothing of it? I must confess that I am aftonish'd at this sugare, tho' it he none of my own. But hold: I am mistaken: The Vindicator is of one Church of England, and we of another: He doth not fav that the Independency of the Clerry is the Doctrine of our Church, viz. the same which Land and Andrews were of; but of his own: And here I must grant that He is in the Right; It is undoubtedly a Doctrine of his Church, and a Fundamental one too. But my business was to enquire into the Doctrine of the old Charch of England, and that appears to be, by the greatest Authorities in it, for the Validity of Regal Deprivations; and until those Authorities be disproved, or confronted with better, it is but fit that the Vindicator and his Party should be accounted as the only private Opinators. And in the mean time, it is manifest that the Church, (our Church I mean, for I know no other in England that deserves that name) in allowing the Validity of the late Deprivation, hath acted confiftently with her felf, and according to her ancient Principles; therefore, not by worldly considerations, not by carnal interests. But after all, the Church of England is not infallible, and therefore may be deceived: That is true indeed, and "the "Doctrine of Vindicator is very importunate with her to acknowledge her the Church, Errors in this Point; but He ought to prove it one first. Whe. Or. Sect. III. ther any thing He hath yet faid be fufficient to prove it fuch will appear from our fecond Enquiry, viz.

II. Whether the Allowance of the Validity of the late Deprivation be subject to those Inconveniencies wherewith the Vindicator chargeth it? And here I shall not diffemble any thing of force that He hath produced against it; tho' I do not design to run out into so many words as He hath done. I love Brevity; and if for the fake of that I shall examine his Arguments in another Method than He hath proposed them, I hope He will pardon me, so long as I do him no wrong in either misrepresenting, or omitting any thing He hath said to the purpose.

The:

Defence of the Vindication, Sect. 31, Oc. to fect.37. & feet 48,49.

The first Objection against the Validity of the Deprivation is this, viz. That It subjects the Sacerdotal Office to the Regal; the more noble to that which is less fo. In profecution of this Argument, the Vindicator spends eight Sections; wherein having advanced the Aaronical Priest bood to the highest pitch imaginable. and anointed it with an Unction much greater and bolier than the Regal, nay, made it even the Original from whence the Regal is derived; He at last applies all this to our present Case, and positively affirms our Bishops to be properly Priests, and that of a more noble Order too than the Aaronical, even the Order of Melchizedek. Well! but how proves he this Dignity of the Priest bood above the Royal Power? even by Bellarmine's own Argument, viz. from the End and Defign of each Office. He shews you the Priesthood to be available to a future and eternal State; whereas the Office of a King extends no farther than this life. I desire my Reader to consult the Vindicator's own Book; for otherwise he may suspect me of calumniating him, as if I father'd an Argument upon him which he ought to be asham'd of. But I hope the Vindicator himself doth not expect a formal Anfwer to fuch an Objection as this: He is not certainly to learn at this time of day, that a Subordination of Offices, with regard to their several Ends, doth not of necessity imply a Subordination likewise in regard of Government. And what is it, I wonder, that makes him fo readily admit that which, by his own confession, is so very difficultly admitted by many, (that which is absolutely rejected by the whole Protestant Communion, he should have faid), viz. That Bishops are properly Priests, and the Eucharift a proper Sacrifice? He learn'd not this from the 31st Article of our Church; nor yet hath he faid any thing in reality to prove it. I shall not here stand to examine his Arguments for it; the Position it self being of as little moment to the Cause in hand, as it is in it felf false: For admitting Bishops to be Priests, Presbyters are so as much as they, and the Eucharist as much a Sacrifice in the hands of the one as the other; and yet He disallows not a Lay-deprivation of Presbyters. I shall conclude all I think farther to fay to this Objection in one word. Hf Bishops, as Bishops, are superior to Kings, and therefore cannot I be deprived by them; then this Proposition, viz. The King bath no power to silence or deprive any Minister, because every Minister, in bis Ministerial capacity, is subject to none but Christ, is a safe and No, if he hall so poses & reprise him be say least or her barmles

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barmles Proposition: But whether it be so or not, let the Vindicator consult his worthy Friend Dr. Hicks, v. Dr. Hicks's Sermon on 7an, 20. 168; pag. 20.

Obj. 2. A Lay-deprivation of Bishops is an Invasion of Spiri- Desence of the tual Rights, and therefore is invalid. The Author of the De- Vindication, fence of the Church, † had deny'd any Invasion to have been Sect. LV. made upon the purely spiritual Power of the Deprived Bishops. † Defence of This the Vindicates wonders at as a strange piece of Conference the Church, This the Vindicator wonders at as a strange piece of Considence, pag. 10. and, after several flourishes comes, close upon him with a terrible Dilemma. If the presumed Magistrate has not invaded the Spiritual Districts of our Fathers, then the Intruders are Schismaticks, &c. But hold, Sir! how I pray comes the purely firitual Power of + la couft ho Bishops to be turn'd into spiritual Districts? Had not that Author told you, that he look'd upon nothing as purely spiritual in Bi-(hops, but that Character which they received immediately by the Imposition of Hands? That that Character was one thing, the Relation to a particular District another; that the one was inviolable by the Secular Magistrate, but the other not so? It is a strange thing that a Man of such Abilities cannot apprehend this. I will give it him in Latin out of the Learned Petrus de Marca, De Concord. I. 4. cap. 1. par. 6. Canonibus factam injuriam is panis Principes ulciscebantur, que legibus irrogate erant, nempe expulsione à sede. Deturbationem enim illam, que vacantem Ecclesiam redderet, sui arbitrii esse putabant; non autem degradationem vel dejectionem ab Episcopali dignitate, qua erat pana merè Ecclesiastica. It is by this time, I hope, plain enough. And now I shall take my turn to shew him how I See be no purely spiritual Right, then He is deprivable of it by the Civil Magistrate; and when so deprived, his See is vacant: A Bishop duly consecrated and elected into a Vacant See, is a true Catholick Bishop; they that refuse Communion with a true Catholick Bishop are Schismaticks; and, if they do it upon Principles, are Hereticks. I leave the Vindicator to put it into due form, and to apply it. But,

Obj. 2. To allow the Prince even this power of diffoling the Relation of a Bishop to his District, is to put it in his power to destroy the Church whensoever he pleases. Because the Church Seat LV.

necessary for making the Churches Censures, as settled by our Lord and his Apostles practicable. The allowing therefore the Heathen perfecuting Magistrates a power of dissolving the Relation of all the Bishops of their Dominions to particular Districts, had perfectly disfolved all particular Churches, as Bodies, when the Magistrate was pleased to dissolve them, and therefore cannot be agreeable to the design of Christ and his Apostles, who intended to perpetuate Churches, as Bodies, independent on the State. This is the fumm of his Argument in all its force; but yet a miserable weak one it is, being made up of some things utterly falle, and others nothing to the purpose. + That the Church cannot subfift as a Body without Districts, is falle; for it did actually /ubfif without them, and when there was not fo much as one the it can't Bishop with restraint in the whole World. And that was in the days of the Apostles, who were all Bishops at large, and executed Episcopal Jurisdiction wheresoever they came. It was indeed quickly found convenient that the Church should be canton'd into Districts, and that Bishops should confine the Exercise of their Power within certain limits; but yet the Episcopal Power is of its own nature extensive, and the proper acts of it obligatory, throughout the whole Catholick Church. A Man justly excommunicated by his Bishop, is excommunicated all the World over, whether any body elfe think fit to ratify the sentence or no. Defence of the So vain are the Vindicator's pretences, that " the Right which " Bishops have to oblige the whole Catholick Church is grounded " on the commerce of Communicatory Letters, and the common " interest of all to ratify the Acts of particular Districts; and " that the Exercise of Episcopacy, as Catholick, is grounded on " the Right each Bishop hath to a particular District. division of the Church into Districts was no more the Original design of Christ and his Apostles, than the division of Districts into Parishes. However, the Church had confessedly a Right thus to fettle Districts, as it had to do many other things, for its own Edification, even without the Consent of the Secular Magistrate. For God hath granted the Magistrate no Power for Destruction, nor do we allow him any for that end. And therefore all the Vindicator's Out-cries against allowing an Heathen perfecuting Magistrate a power of depriving all the Bishops

in his Dominions, are nothing to the purpose. Must good Ma-

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> Vindication, pag. 81.

gistrates be allow'd no power but such as ill ones shall not be able to abuse? Believe me, they must be allow'd very little then: Their Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Causes shall not extend to the very least circumstance of Religious Worship; no, not so far as to determine the times of publick Prayer, or the babits, or postures, or places wherein it shall be perform'd. + For if the Vindi- + cator's Argument be good, that Princes must not be allow'd the Power of Deprivation, because then they may destroy the whole Order of Bishops whensoever they please; then this argument is good also, that neither are they to be allow'd any authority in the Circumstances of Religious Worship, lest they should forbid all, and so publick Worship, at their pleasure, cease. But I wonder at the Vindicator, that, among all the bold strokes he hath offer'd at, he hath not openly pleaded for the Exemption of the Persons, as well as the Rights, of Bishops from the Power of the Civil Magistrate. He gave a shrewd Hint at it Sect. XXXIX, and again Sect. XLIX, where he faith, "If the Sacredness of " the Levitical Prieft bood was thought sufficient to awe all Con-" scientions Magistrates from offering any thing that might look " like Violence to fuch boly persons; a greater Sacredness of our " Priest bood now, ought in reason more to awe the Magistrate " now under the Gospel-Dispensation. This is pretty plain. But if he had not encouragement enough to speak out, barely from the super-eminent Sacredness of the Episcopal Office above the Regal; yet methinks he need not have minced the matter when he infifted upon the Argument I am now confidering. For had he not as much reason to say, that to subject the Lives of Bishops to the Power of the Secular Magistrate, is pernicions to the Church, as he had to fay that to subject their Rights is so? + For may not an Heathen persecuting Magistrate give as + to, fatal a Blow to the Church, by cutting off the Heads of all the Bishops in his Dominions, as by depriving them of their Sees? Yes; but the present case did not require his carrying the Argument fo far; and besides, the Popery of it was too too manifest. Very well; but the Argument will go so far, whether He think fit to carry it fo far or no: It will privilege the Perfons of Bishops as well as their Rights; It will conclude for both, or for neither: And therefore let him either own both the Conclusions, or reject the Argument.

Review of the

Rights of the

Church ,

p. CLVII.

Again, The Vindicator is mistaken in faying that it was the design of Christ and his Apostles to perpetuate Churches, as Bodies, independent on the State. Churches were indeed defign'd by God to be so far independent on States, as to be able to subsist of themselves, tho' States should feek their ruine: But the primary design of Christ was to unite the Interests of both, and to join both Churches and States into one and the same Society. For * God declaring his Will of bringing States to Christianity, declareth by consequence that He calleth them to the same Interess in matters of Religion, which we know was exercised by the Kings of his ancient This Union of Church and State into one Society was maintain'd by A. B. Whitgift and Mr. Hooker against both Papists and Puritans in defence of the Civil Magistrate's Power in Ecclefiaftical Affairs; and by this alone the Vindicator might understand whose Cause he is engaged in, if he would but confider from whom it is that he borrows his weapons. But with these Great Men of our Church, long since dead, falls in exactly one of the greatest Men now living, I mean the admirable Pufendorf, + who thus speaks :

† Introduct. to Hift. c.12. feat. 11.

"Because the first Christians were obliged, when the Magi-" strates failed in their Duty, to regulate and constitute a " Church-Government among themselves, this hath occasion'd " the Rife of feveral Errors, which are of no fmall confe-" quence. For fome have from thence endeavour'd to make " this Inference, That the People, as they stand in opposition to " the Sovereignty, have an original and inherent Right to elect " Church-Ministers .-- Some also have been endeavouring to " draw from thence this Conclusion, viz. That the outward " Church-Government is separate and distinct from the Supreme " Civil Power, and that it ought to be administred either by " the whole Clergy, or else to depend absolutely on one single " person of the Clergy; so that, according to this Supposition, " there must be in each Christian State two distinct Bodies inde-" pendent of one another, tone of which must be call'd the Ecclesiaftick (Ecclesia), the other the Politick State (Civitas), and each " of them to be fovereign in its Government. ch: a state as ho souther withit a way want.

work bean these

By this Union of Church and State, no body ever defign'd to confound the Notions of them. These ever were, and ever will be distinct. And this distinction is all that the Vindicator's proof amounts to Sect. LVIII. but he ought to have proved them fo diffinit as (in Mr. Hooker's words) to remain by per-Sonal subsistence divided from each other in a Christian Commonwealth. It is this distinction alone that can stand him in any stead, and this is the distinction which, in opposition to Mr. Hooker, it yet lies upon him to prove. As for the Author Sect. LVI. of the Defence of the Church, He apply'd the Union of Church and State into one Society to as much purpose as He desired, viz. to overthrow the Vindicator's Argument, which was built upon the false Supposition of their being distinct. And as for what is farther required of him, he fays this only in short, That it is not the calling the just Acts of a legal Supremacy by bard Names, which will either divest a Prince of his Power, or justify any Man in his Disobedience. But yet I must confess that this short Answer doth not reach all the Enquiries the Vindicator hath proposed in that Section; particularly this: Supposing the Church and State united into one Society, why must this Union be rather under the Secular, than under the Spiritual, common Monarch? This is a strange Question for any Man to ask that hath read the thirteenth Chapter to the Romans. But I will venture to give him a peculiar Reason for it; and that, as he fays himself, is more than ever he expected; which is this: Kings are the Supreme Ministers upon Earth, of Christ's Regal Office; and therefore when by their Conversion to Christianity, Civil States are united into one Society with the Church, tit is fit + 20 90 that all persons should submit to their Authority, and acknowledge them as their Sovereigns, and only common Monarchs. If He defires to fee this farther illustrated, let him confult the Excellent Dr. Scott's Christian Life, P. II. Ch. VII. Sect. IX. and he will find it done to his hand; there he will find also the Original of their Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the Obligation of Subjects to Submit to it, settled upon their true Grounds; not upon Commutation of Benefits, nor arbitrary Contracts, against which He may dispute as long as he pleases; for my part, I will never contradict him.

But is it not a frange Polition of the Vindicator, That the Magiftrate must be rather a loser than a gainer by his conversion to Christianity? This He positively afferts Sect. LIX. and says he hath proved it, because the Magistrate in his Conversion comes to the Bishop's terms, not the Bishop to his. Comes to the Bishops terms? what are those? Why these we have an account of before, viz. to be admitted into the Church as a private person, and as a Subject to Spiritual Authority. Sect. LVII. to obey Church-Laws made by the confent of the Ecclefiafticks, to submit to the Bishop as Head of the Church and supreme unappealable Judge in Spirituals. Sect. LVIII. and therefore to abide bis Sentence, which in some cases particularly that of Heresie, may proceed to Excommunication. Sect.LIV. Dr. Hicks would once have told him, that Kings Sermon on the may be Excommunicated is a Fanatical and Popilh Principle; and that Christianity destroys not any Rights of Sovereigns, but confirms them. Now we know that it is the Right of our King to be Supreme Governour in these his Realms, &c. over all Persons. and in all Causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil. And where the King thus hath Supreme Power, there, to use Mr. Hooker's own words, No foreign State or Potentate, no State or Potentate Domestical, whether it consisteth of one or many, can possibly have in the same affairs, and causes Authority higher than the King. And therefore the Oath of Supremacy serves not only to exclude all foreign powers, or to acknowledge the King's Authority over Spiritual Perfons in Temporals only (which is all the Vindicator will allow. contrary to the express words of the Oath) but to acknowledge his Supreme Authority also over Spiritual Persons, and that too in Spiritual matters. Not that the King hath any power purely Spiritual, such as is the Ministry either of the Word or Sacraments: or that this Spiritual power is derived from the King; but that the Exercise of it is subject to the King's conduct and direction. So, as we have already heard, A.B. Land states it. And therefore the Civil Magistrate can be no Loser by his Conversion to Christianity. Well, but is He any gainer by his Conversion? Let us hear what Mr. Hooker faith: " A time there was when Kings were " not capable of any fuch power, viz. the Supremacy in Ecclesiasti-" cal causes, as namely, when they profes'd themselves open

" Enemies unto Christ and Christianity. A time there follow'd " when they being capable, took fometimes more, fometimes " less, to themselves, as seemed best in their own Eyes. Here

30th. of Jan. · cu 1581, pag. 18. Jovian. pag. Ecclef. Polity, Book 8.

> Doctrine of the Church, &c. Sect. XVIII. &c.

Pag . 11.

Eccl. Pol. B.S.

is a manifest difference put betwixt the Power of Christian Princes and Heathen Persecutors. But nothing can be clearer than that of Bishop Andrews, in his Sermon of calling Assemblies, " If the succession of Magistrates (Christian Magistrates he " means) be interrupted; in fuch case of Necessity, the Church " of her felf maketh supply; because then God's Order cea-" feth. But God granting a Constantine to them again, " God's former Positive Order returneth, and the course is to " proceed and go on, as before. When the Magistrate and " his Authority was at any time wanting to the Church, for-" ced she was to deal with ber own Affairs, within ber felf; " for then was the Church wholly divided from Princes, and " they from it. But, when this Wall of partition is pull'd " down, shall Moses have no more to do than Pharaob, or Con-" fantine than Nero? Congregations were fo call'd under them: " must they be so still under these too? I might transcribe much more out of that Incomparable Discourse to the same purpose, and which would at the same time sufficiently refute an Objection the Vindicator is perpetually inculcating, and that is,

Obj. 4. The practice of the Primitive Church : To which of nothing more need be faid, than that the Practice of the Primitive Church, as to this Point of the outward Church-Government, is not to be made a perpetual and universal Rule of the Church-Government in a State, which is under the Jurisdiction of a Christian and Orthodox Prince. For that Practice was accommodated to the Circumstances of their Affairs then; but, where both the People and the Sovereign have received the Chrifian Religion, the case is quite different, and implys not any necessity that the State should thereby become a Body with two Heads. This Answer I have from a great man above cited, * Pufendorf and this Answer I will fand by. As for the long † Citations Introd to Hift. out of Ignatius and Clemens Romanus wherewith we are treated c. 12. Sect. 11. as if we flood condemn'd by the Judgment of those holy Aposto- † Sect. XLVII, lical Men; I desire the Vindicator to inform us, whether the L, LI, LII. Bishop, to whom Ignatius requires so strict an Adherence, and the Presbyters, whose Ejection from their Ministry, Clemens so much complains of, were deprived by their natural Prince that had Supreme Power over all Persons, and in all causes? Till we are

affured of that, we cannot but think the Quotations impertment, and, at present, more proper for his own Use, than ours.

Sett. LXVI.

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Set LXVII.

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Obj. 5. It is not agreeable to the Mind of God that the Civil Magistrate should be trusted with this Power of Depriving Rishops. But how knows he the Mind of God in this matter ? + By Revelation? that is the only way of knowing God's mind in things of his Arbitrary disposal, such as this is: No, not by Revelation, for He produces not one Text of Scripture for it, but by Reasonings of his own. But, alas! the Vindicator hath, in this one Work, given us abundant demonstration that God Almighty and He do not always think at one and the same rate. But what are his Reasons? Why, the summ of them all amounts to thus much, that the Civil Magistrate is by no means a competent Judge of the Church's Interest, and it is not likely that God should entrust a Power, the abuse whereof would be so pernicious, in hands so likely to abuse it. But this Argument will hold against any Power they are possess d of, tas of making Peace or War, and the like. If Princes are apt to abuse the Power committed to them, God expects the contrary from them, and hath made it their Duty to do otherwise; and if they do not understand the Interests of the Church, it is their own fault. The Church's Interests are not such mysterious things beyond those of the State; but that the same Capacity of Mind may serve for one as well as the other; nay, I dare boldly affirm, that that Prince is not duly qualify'd for the Government of the State, who doth not throughly understand the Interests of the Church. For all Princes ought to to manage the Affairs of State as may most conduce to the Interests of the Church; which how any Prince should do who is not a competent Judge of the Church's Interests. I am yet to feek. I am loth to retort the Objection, because it is an ill-natured one; but yet Princes ought to have Justice done them: And thus much even Malice it felf must say in their behalf, That who foever looks into the History of the Church, he will find many Illustrious Examples of Piety and Virtue among Crowned as well as Mitred Heads; and howfoever Princes Courts are commonly but ill Schools of Morality, yet the greatest mijchiefs that have befallen the Church, never sprang from thence; but most of the Abules and Corruptions under which Religion hath groand, were begun and carry'd on by Ecclefisficks, and that too

too in direct opposition many times to the Civil Power. Witness most of the groß and abominable Errors of the Church of Rome.

Obj. 6. The present Deprivation is not justifiable, even by our own Secular Laws; because the Supremacy is by all our Laws vefted not in the Parliament, but the King. I am no Lawyer; but it will be Reply good enough for this Objection, I hope, to fay, that the King with his Parliament, must needs have as much power, as without his Parliament. Well; but the King cannot confound the several Courts and Jurisdictions to which Causes are appropriated by the Laws themselves. To this I may answer, That an Act of Parliament may fet aside the usual Formalities of proceding in Law, as being Superior to the Constitutions of particular Courts. But, to be short; I will ask the Vindicator this one Question. Is this Law by which the Bishops are deprived, inconsistent with our former Laws, or not? If it be not, then the Deprivation is undoubtedly justifiable by Law. If it be inconsistent; then, as he + ha of his very well knows, one ordinary Rule of judging concerning the practice of inconsistent Laws, is, That later Laws, even of the same Legislative Power, take place of elder Laws, as being so far virtually Repeals of them, as their Practice proves inconsistent. This Anfwer He will not except against I hope, for it is his own. Sect. LXVIII.

And thus have we consider'd every thing that looks like an Objection, so far as I know, which the Vindicator hath offer'd against the Validity of the late Deprivation; let us now see how he hath fet aside that which hath been offer'd for it. The See Defence of Author of the Defence of the Church of England infifted upon two things especially; whereof the first was, That those who deny this power of Deprivation to the Civil Magistrate, do themselves allow him another as dangerous to the Church. This he made appear in two Instances, viz. The keeping Episcopal Sees vacant, and, The Depriving Presbyters of their Cures. The latter of these the Vindicator hath not thought fit to fay any thing to: But as to the former He replies, That the Church allows this Power to the Sect LXII. Prince in confideration of the Temporals he annexeth to Ba-Shopricks; and that to keep a See wacant, is no siet of Authority upon a Bishop, but only on a Candidate for the Office. But yet, I fay, it is an Act of Authority upon the Church, and may prove altoge-

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the Church,&c.

Prince so please. Nor is it enough to say that the Church may refume her right of collating whenfoever She judges it convenient fo to do; for fo it may be faid, that She may referve the Right of Deprivation to her felf when She fees convenient. And farther, if to fill up vacant Sees be a Right of the Church, She recedes from her Right when She allows Princes to keep them vacant; and therefore there is as proper a Ceffion of Right on the Church's part in this case, as in that of Lay-deprivation. how, I pray, must Churches subsist during the Vacancies? Why, the Presbyteries may perform what is requisite for their own time: But, because the Power of Ordination is not given them, without which a Succession cannot be secured, the Church is obliged to take care that the supplying the Sees with new Bishops, be not deferr'd fo long till the whole Episcopal Order be extinguish'd. The Presbyteries perform what is requisite: Is then the Nature of the Spiritual Monarchy such, as to subsist in Presbyteries? And can a Presbytery be the Center of Union, the Head of a Church, and Principle of its Unity? It feems it may, or elfe a Church may subfift without an Head, and maintain its Unity when the Principle of Unity is loft. Bishops, alas! are necessary for nothing but to fecure the Succession of Presbyters. And therefore let our Church maintain but three or four itinerant Bishops merely for Ordination, (as for Confirmation, Presbyters may do that), and She will want nothing really needful. An acceptable Doctrine, upon my word, to all fuch as gape after Bishop's Lands; but yet such as no one will thank him for, that hath any regard for the Episcopal Order. And I have fo good an Opinion of the Vindicator, that I believe he will scarce thank himself for it upon second thoughts. Another thing the Author of the Defence infifted on, was that, which can well escape no body that treats of this Argument, the Case of Solomon and Abiatbar, to which the Vindicator excepts first, That this Fast is barely related in Scripture, not consured: and therefore no Inference can be drawn from it. But to this I answer, That the Facts of Persons, who bear a good Character in Scripture, are to be look'd upon as well done, where we have no Information to the contrary; and, unless there be fomething very peculiar in their Circumstances, are generally Precedents. Thus our Saviour himself justify'd his Disciples in plucking the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day, from David and his Men eating ballow'd bread, Matt. 12. 4. His

Seft. LXIII.

Sect. XXX.

His next Exception is drawn from the Sacredness of the Priest's Office. And what would he infer from that? Why that Solomon could not deprive him. And yet the Scripture faith he did. But Solomon's Act was only of Force, and the Deprivation fell in of Sect. XXXVII. consequence. Then if Solomon had no Right of Deprivation the XXXVIII. ought to have forborn that Force which he could not offer without Deprivation. Well! but Solomon had a particular Reason for Sect. XL Like La what he did, and that was to fulfill what God had before threaten'd against the Family of Eli. For the words of the Text are, So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being Priest unto the Lord : that be might fulfill the word of the Lord, which he fake concerning the bouse of Eli in Shilob, I King. 2. 27. En tibi igitur Prophetas Milites qui partiti sunt inter se vestimenta Christi, was Chamier's Reply to Bellarmine, who would have eluded the force Panstrat. Cath. of this Text in the very same manner. No; but Solomon knew Tom II p.594. of this Prophecy and did directly design the Accomplishment of it. But Ed. Gen. 1626. what warrant had He to turn a mere Prophecy into a Rule of Practice? Why, God bimself bad declared his pleasure that Abiathar and the House of Ithamar too, should be deprived of the Priestbood, and deprived at that very time; as Solomon might learn by Reasoning thus: They were to be deprived, that Solomon knew; admit that. And they were to be deprived then, or not at all. How fo? Why Abiathar was in the fourth Generation from Eli, and it was a standing Rule, that such Punishments of the Children for the Parents were not usually deferr'd beyond the fourth Generation. Were not usually deferr'd beyond the fourth Generation: But if God was pleased to defer Eli's punishment to the fifth Generation; what had Solomon to do to basten it before it's time? But to let that pass. How should Solomon know even so much as this, viz. that such Punishments were not usually deferr'd beyond the fourth Generation? Why from the words of the second Commandment, and from such Examples as the Treachery of Gyges, and the Confiracy of Febu being both punish'd in the fourth Generation. Let us first consider the Examples; and the Vindicator doth not, I hope, suppose that either of these in particular could possibly be of use to Solomon, no, but some other like them. But unless Solomon was happier in his Choice than the Vindicator in bis, he could not from Examples have ever learn'd any thing to the purpose. Crasus was the fourth from Gyges, true,

but must he therefore suffer for no sin but that of Gyges? had he not fins of his own to suffer for? And as for Febu being punish'd in the fourth Generation for his Conspiracy against the house of Abab; this is so groß a Mistake, that the continuance of the Crown so long in his Family was even the Reward of his Conspiracy. And the Lord Said unto Jehu, Because thou bast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and haft done unto the bouse of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart. thy Children of the fourth Generation shall sit on the throne of Israel, 2 King. 10.20. But by the way, is it not an unaccountable undertaking in the Vindicator to go about to justifie Solomon's deposition of Abiathar by an old Prophecy concerning the House of Eli deliver'd almost one hundred years before Solomon was born : and in the very same Paragraph condemn Jehu for conspiring an gainst the bouse of Abab, tho he acted therein according to a Prophecy deliver'd to himself, and had God's immediate command for what he did? But we need not wonder at this; if we do but confider how he argues from the fecond Commandment. The words are these, I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me. Hence the Vindicator argues, and Supposes Solomon to have done so too, that the punishment of Fathers must begin at the fourth Generation of their Children. when the words fay expresly that it shall end there, and that God will visit no farther. But let any one judge whether such reasoning would have become the wifest of Men. Whilst Men reason at this rate, it is no wonder that they and the Church should not be both of a mind.

Sect. XLI.

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But he fays farther, that in this case of Solomon and Abiathar there was not fo much as an Example, (so far was it from being a Precedent,) of a Deprivation of an High Priest properly so call'd. For Abiathar was not such, but Zadok; and this he inferrs from hence, viz. That when they are mention'd together Zadok's name is always placed first. But he ought to have conde Minos fider'd that the Holy Pen-men never made this their Rule always to mention the most worthy first; as appears in the order of Jacob's Sons, 2 Chron. 2. 1, 2. and Zerviah's in the same Chap-A for slever ter v. 16. compared with 2 Sam. 2. 18. Many other Instances LEGO for thurse, jungest of lawn.

of this kind I could give him, if there were occasion so to do. But these I hope are enough to let him see what a slender Ground the bare order of Names is to build a conjecture upon in opposition to the received opinion of all mankind for so many Ages; and which, in all common construction of Words, is countenanced by our Saviour himself, where he saith that David went into the house of God in the days of Abiathar the High Priest, Mark 2. 26. whereas had not Abiathar been the High Priest properly so call'd but Zadok, it had been but proper speaking to have faid the days of Zadok the High Priest, not the days of Abiathar. I confess the Abiathar mention'd in the Gofpel was not the Abiathar about whom we contend, but his Father; however if the Father was High Priest, there remains no dispute whether the Son was so too. I do so far agree with the Vindicator that there were two High Priests together in those times; but I cannot agree with him as to their Order. Two there were, whereof one attended the Ark at Ferufalem, the bigbest Function, and that was Abiathar the supreme High Priest; the other attended on the Tabernacle at Gibeon, an inferior office, and that was Zadok the fecond High Prieft. And this Account is confiftent with Josephus, and makes Josephus Ant. Lib. 8. consist ne with himself; for He reckons Zadok among the is to c. 1. TENORYTES Of Fbineas's Family, and yet at the same time acknowledges him to have been High Priest in the Reign of David. This the Vindicator will needs have to be a Contradiction; but folephus was never so inconsiderate a Writer neither. as to contradict himself within the compals of three Lines. By idiational therefore we must not understand, as the Vindicator doth, private persons in an absolute, but in a comparative fense, s.e. in comparison of their own Progenitors who formerly, and of Ithamar's Family which afterwards had the Poffession of the High-Priest bood; and accordingly Ruffinus renders is we-TENGANTES by qui Saccrdotio funt privati, meaning the High Priestbood properly so call'd, not by qui privatam vitam egerunt, as if none of them had all that time born any publick office. As for sect XLIII. what he objects farther, that there could be no deprivation of the Family of Phineas, because of the Covenant that was made with Num. 25.13. him of an Everlasting Priesthood, and therefore Abiathar could not be the High-Priest; may he not as well fay, The scepter was Gen. 49. 10.

Sed. LXIX. Sed. LXVI. not to depart from Judah, therefore Saul never was King? He knows many things may be faid in answer to this; and besides if there be any difficulty in it, he is as much obliged to solve it as any body else; for he can tell the time when the Jews were without a Priestbood, without an Epbod, and without a Teraphim; nay, he knows the time when Invasions of the Priestbood had passed into Prescriptions of that force, as to make Possifion the best title any one could pretend to it. And ought not this to be reconciled with the Covenant of an everlasting Priestbood as well as the Interruption of it for three or four Successions only? What Cause may not that man hope to carry, for whom the same Argument shall soon prove any thing, soon nothing, even as He himself sees good?

Sen LXIX.

But lastly, He says there is no Reasoning from the Rights of the Fewish Princes to the Rights of Christian Princes now. Why: then the world hath been under a gross mistake till now; for hitherto they have so reason'd. It appears by our Canons and Articles that we have had two whole Convocations at least that have reason'd at this rate, and so have all the learned men, whose Works I have met with, either before or fince. But what is the Canse why we may not so reason? One Cause is, that then the Prince had a better pretence, as Head of the Theocracy, to command in affairs concerning God, than any Prince living can have now, when no State pretends to be Theocratical. This one Mistake runs through the Vindicator's whole Book, viz. that the Fewish State was Theocratical in the time of Solomon; whereas the Theocracy had then utterly ceased, as, the late Learned Dean of Ely hath proved. But supposing it had then continued; This is so far from a Reason for the Fewish Kings to pretend to more power than others; that they ought rather to have pretended not to to much. For fo long as God took upon himself the office of a Political Prince, which is the very notion of a Theocracy, they could not pretend to fo much as the supreme Magistracy. But He faith the Tewish Princes had a better pretence to command in affairs concerning God than any Prince can have now. Was it any thing more than a Pretence? if it was not; then Princes now have as much right to command in such affairs as they had then; that is, even none at all. If it was something more than

Vid. Spencer. Differtat. de Theocrat Jud. Cap. 4. Sect, 2. than a Presence; then the Jewish Princes had really more Authority than Princes have now; then our Princes have not the same; but "Whosoever shall affirm that the King's Majesty hath not "the same Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical that the Godly Kings" had among the Jews, let him be Excommunicated, &c. Canon II.

The other Reasons offer'd by the Vindicator against the general way of arguing from the fewish State to the Christian, deferve less consideration than this; and therefore I shall leave

them to some Body else that hath less to do.

And thus have I consider'd the Defence of the Vindication so far as it respects the Defence of the Church. I shall only desire the Vindicator impartially to reflect upon his own Work, and to fee whether upon second thoughts he dare stand to the Positions laid down in it, particularly these, That the Sacerdotal Unction is greater and bolier than the Regal: That It is the Original from whence the Regal is derived. S. XL. That Bishops are properly Priests: That the Eucharist is a proper Sacrifice. S. XLVIII. Time was when had he been charged with the maintenance of these Doctrines, he would have answer'd with the Indignation of Hazael, Is thy fervant a dog, &c. 2 King. 8. 12. But I fee that no body knows, before-hand, what Extravagancies either in Opinion or Practice, a violent Inclination for a Party may drive them to. Methinks I behold the Church of Rome fitting with this Work of the Vindicator's in her hand, and as she reads it, exulting for Joy, and promising to her felf a Proselyte more glorious than the Crown'd Head she makes such mighty boasts of. He hath indeed made fuch advances towards ber as render neither her bopes, nor our Fears of him, altogether unreasonable. A few steps more, and he is perfectly reconciled. But I hope he will defeat her Expectations, and flop in time. For my own part I fincerely profess my felf fo far from being prevail'd upon by any thing, this great man hath said in defence of his Vindication; that I have a worse opinion of it than I had before; and I wonder He himfelf doth not suspect it, when it is not to be defended by a Person of his prodigious Learning and Abilities, without his raking for Arguments in that Sink of Errors, the Church of Rome. There: can be no greater fign of a bad Cause, than when it appears worse and worse in the Management; and so doth this: For the VindiVindication did not want this Defence so much, as this Defence wants another.

And therefore I conclude that neither is the Cause it self to

be Vindicated, nor the Vindication of it defensible.

FINIS.

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